White ethnic exclusiveness is reflected
in minimal Klamath participation in formal organizations, lodges, political 648
groups, scouts, and various clubs. Elite groups such as the Masons are ex- 621
clusively White, while the elite Methodist church contains a single Klamath 563
member. In the century of contact few Klamath have held elective office out- [575]
side the tribal structure, and although a high percentage have registered, very [194]
few vote in local, state, or national elections. The dual structure of local
communities is best reflected in the sharp division of networks of friendships [666]
and home visiting, White on the one hand, Klamath on the other. Clearly, the [571]
place and role of the Klamath is a special one.

Their special status has numerous implications. For years, to obtain their [273]
drinking liquor the Klamath had to turn to bootleggers, a legal disability which [671]
was removed only in 1951. Local law enforcement has sometimes been difficult
due to dual or conflicting jurisdictions, and jurisdiction over major crimes
committed by Klamath was given over to the state of Oregon in 1953. The land [423]
holdings of Klamath property owners, because of their special status, are fre- [651]
quently tax exempt, as have been their per capita payments. Simultaneously,
the Klamath have exhibited little constructive concern with local affairs. As
was noted, their contribution to the community takes a special form. In Chilo- [674]
quin during a typical year arrests of tribal members amounted to 70 percent of
the total, and they also paid 70 percent of all fines and forfeited bails and
performed 96 percent of all trustee labor (Stern & Swanson 1960). The wardship [178]
status has, however, suffered gradual attrition, and in 1954 the passage of [657]
Public Law 587 began the final termination of federal supervision of the tribe,
and the dissolution of the reservation.

Under PL 587 the Klamath were allowed the choice of remaining within a recon- 648
stituted "Klamath Tribe," with a corporate structure and assets to be admini- 657
stered by a trustee, or they had the choice of withdrawing and of receiving a 619
pro rata share of tribal assets. In a later election, about 77 percent of the
membership elected the latter, and chose to withdraw. However, the control of
the new "tribe's" assets and the fact that many persons who withdrew have been
designated as "in need of assistance" indicates that although federal super-
vision has been ended, the control and intervention of Whites has not.

The separation of Whites and Klamath in local communities is by no means entirely 563
due to White attitudes of exclusiveness or to overt discrimination. Individual 619
Klamath have shown an equally noncommittal relationship to tribal affairs. Atten-
dance at tribal meetings has been very low in spite of numerous inducements such
as free bar-b-ques. In General Council meetings (and tribal affairs, generally) [665]
the conduct of business is marked by extensive and endemic factionalism, delays,
repetitious debate, failure to resolve or even to state issues, and pointless,
lingering sessions. Here is one place, outside of the telling of a ripe but [191]
dirty joke, that one may hear the Klamath language used; but it is used as a
tool to beat down an opposing tribal member who does not understand it. Though
the General Council and the Tribe are symbolic of a corporate separateness and
of a Klamath identity, this minimal participation and the distrust of the ability
of tribal leaders to manage the tribe's resources weakens them as systems of
action.

Klamath families are another important locus of loyalty and identification. 592
The household or domestic group itself averages about four members, but there
are many single male households and many domestic groups headed by women.
The latter is symptomatic of the instability of the marriage tie. Marriage, 581
in the legal sense, is itself approximated in frequency by common-law unions [588]
and more temporary "shack-jobs." Probably one-third of all Klamath women have

Aunt May: Female, Age 58

Background Data

*159 [156] [184] [871] [586] [842] [597] Like Carrie, Aunt May's social position is marginal to Klamath and White segments of the community, and she occupies a position of leadership, although hers is of a more informal variety. She has 8 years of formal education, but in her words, has been learning all her life. She has been married four times. Two marriages were broken by the death of a spouse, one by divorce, and the fourth, to a White wage worker, to whom she has been married 20 years. One of the tragedies of her life is that she has never been able to conceive, but she has made up for this biological failing by formal and informal adoptions of numerous children, four of whom she had for at least for three years, and one, an adolescent boy, since birth.

Unlike many of the other subjects, Aunt May is a town girl, although she has spent some time on a ranch in her youth and would now prefer to live in the [756] country. When she was young she seriously considered becoming a Shaman, and was closely identified with one of the surviving "Indian Doctors," but she became dissatisfied with the prospects of this role. Yet she remained ambitious and [874] wanted something more for her life than the "other Indians" were getting. She took up with a white woman who put her to work and trained her as a seamstress. [759] She became an accomplished mid-wife and frequently will answer to the query if she knows a certain party, "Do I know him? Why, I cut his umbilical cord with [857] a pair of my nail scissors." When a small girl she held the role of a "child nurse" and more or less raised the remainder of her siblings. In recent years *159 she was literally dragged from her home by a group of white ladies who wanted 156 her to attend their church, a church, which as a girl, on Sunday mornings she 177 had stood outside, wishing she could enter. She is the social center of gravity 184 for two large but separate circles of Klamath and Whites. She is one of the few Klamath women with whom elite White ladies will associate, and with them her position is so esteemed and secure that an invitation to her house is highly [774] valued. For her Klamath friends, relatives, and "pick-up" relatives (i.e., per- [608] sons she has taken to her bosom as her own flesh) she is a confidant, an advisor, and an out-spoken critic. She is out-spokenly critical of many patterns *159 of contemporary Klamath life, particularly excessive drinking and disordered 156 family life. "When I was a young woman I just stopped drinking. It was making a mess of my life. I didn't want to be a wet blanket, though. I still went to [278] dances and all. What happened was that I told the boys that I had broken my [363] glass." Aunt May's home today is one built with her share of tribal income, spotlessly clean, well furnished and homey. Every room of the house has its walls and corners covered with mementos and souvenirs, each of which is associated with a treasured memory of a particular person and association. It is noteworthy that these memories are her personal property and do not include her [571] husband or adopted son. Most of her current social contacts are with Whites, for although other Klamath visit in her home, she never visits in theirs, because she does not want to get involved in their arguments.

[157] Aunt May is an extremely assertive woman whose tongue is too often sharp and biting, but every criticism is immediately followed by an effort to soften a person up, reflecting her extreme sensitivity to personal relationships. Perhaps, like Carrie, this strong joking behavior constitutes an appropriate social role. Aunt May is equally sensitive to the reactions of others to her and she will call friends to task for imagined snubs. In public she sits erect and quiet, yet attentive to all that is going on about her, and with great care